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The murder of Father Jerzy Popieluszko came at a time when church-state relations, while generally good, were coming under some strain. Beginning in early September there were signs of increased concern within the regime about outspoken priests and about the church providing a platform for Solidarity activists. Opponents of Jaruzelski's policy of accomodating the church in some areas in order to maintain its tacit support could point to Lech Walesa's meetings with other Solidarity leaders during a workers' pilgrimage to Czestochowa in late September and again in a Gdansk church in mid-October as examples of the politicization of the church. The Czestochowa meeting in fact may have led the regime to cancel a planned Gilem-Jaruzelski summit. The authorities expressed concern over some priests permitting former political prisoners and Solidarity activists to use their churches to address the faithful. Popieluszko, along with Lech Walesa's friend, Father Henryk Jankowski, were criticized and the church hierarchy was chided in the Polish and Soviet press in mid-September for not keeping such priests in line.

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There appears to be disagreement within the regime over what policy to pursue toward the church. Jaruzelski and his moderate supporters seem to believe it is worth accommodating the church over some issues in order to maintain church support in preserving social calm and urging the people to work hard. Consequently Jaruzelski has permitted the church to undertake an ambitious building program, has allowed it new publishing outlets, and has generally tolerated church involvement in a

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whole range of economic, social service, and educational activities. Moderates, however, do not hesitate to criticize the blatant political activities of certain clergymen. Reputed moderates such as Deputy-Premier Rakowski and Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban, writing under the pseudonym "Jan Rem," were responsible for the bitterest attacks on the church and, in the case of Urban, against Popieluszko personally. Hardliners, on the other hand, appear to advocate taking more direct measures against the church. They seem to have little success in getting Jaruzelski to adopt their views, however, and apparently have obstructed Jaruzelski's policies by taking matters into their own hands at the local level. While widespread press reports that hardliners are behind a rumored anti-Solidarity vigilante group cannot be substantiated, local hardliners appear to have caused other problems such as disputes over the hanging of crucifixes in public buildings. In one such dispute last spring, a school official who reportedly was also a local party bureaucrat, decided on his own to take down crosses and almost provoked a national church-state confrontation.

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Father Popieluszko has long drawn the attention of moderates and hardliners alike for his outspoken defense of Solidarity and criticism of government policies after the imposition of martial law. The regime seemed particularly annoyed by his end of the month "masses for the homeland," which he delivered at the St. Stanislaw Kostka church in the Zoliborz district of Warsaw. The masses provided Popieluszko the opportunity to deliver anti-

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government sermons and the participants to display their support for outlawed Solidarity. The authorities also appeared angered by the priest's continuing service as chaplain to the workers of the Warsaw Steel Mill, a Solidarity stronghold that has gained publicity because its worker self-management organization is headed by former Solidarity activists. His chaplaincy may also have given the government reason for concern because it brought workers and intellectuals together, a mix that many in the regime have charged led to the success of Solidarity in 1980-81.

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The authorities responded to Popieluszko's activities with a campaign of harassment, apparently in an effort to intimidate him or encourage his superiors to rein him in. In addition to attacks in the press written by both moderates and hardliners last summer, the police brought him in for questioning on several occasions and finally arrested him in July for possession of weapons and underground literature, charges that were widely regarded as police fabrications. In mid-July, Popieluszko was formally indicted on these charges and also for abusing freedom of religion, but was amnestied on 22 July. At the end of July, the police once again entered his church and removed parts of a photo exhibit chronicling 40 years of Communist rule in Poland in a critical light

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The church may gain some benefits from the priest's death. The regime may believe it has to be more accommodating to the church in the wake of this crime over some unresolved church-state issues as a means of appeasing it and maintaining tacit

church support in preserving social calm and urging the people to work hard. The authorities may reschedule a postponed summit between Glemp and Jaruzelski which may settle the final obstacles preventing the implementation of the church plan to aid private agriculture, taxes and customs duties. ☐

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The Solidarity opposition has benefited from the death of the priest both directly and indirectly. Lech Walesa recently told the Western press that support for the union has waned and the Popieluszko affair has given it a boost. Solidarity chapters, at least in Warsaw, appear to have been revitalized as the union has taken the lead in organizing prayer vigils to protest the crime. The union has its first important martyr and his grave at the parish church, under the control of the church and not the authorities, will become another Solidarity shrine and symbol of opposition. The turmoil surrounding the priest's kidnaping allowed Walesa to hold his first meeting with underground union leaders in a year. They used the occasion to decide that Solidarity will keep its current organizational structure, including the underground wing. The future of the underground had become an issue since after the July amnesty that released many former Solidarity leaders. ☐

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The populace's calm response to the murder of Father Popieluszko and the apparent lack of reponse to radical Solidarity leader Gwiazda's call for a work stoppage may help create a greater consensus among Solidarity leaders over what strategy to pursue for pressing the regime to open a genuine

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dialogue with the populace. The public response and the decision by former Solidarity and Workers' Defense Committee (KOR) leaders to form a human rights monitoring group may indicate the opposition has concluded that legal means rather than protests should be the main instrument of Solidarity's strategy. ☐

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The incident was particularly embarrassing to Jaruzelski because it came amidst a series of high level Western visits and just before the party central committee plenum set to discuss law and order. Jaruzelski may now use the pretext of Popieluszko's death to try to eliminate the hardline opponents he has publicly complained have blocked his reformist-type policies for two years. The extent to which Jaruzelski will be able to clean house will likely depend on the willingness of the Soviets to back his opponents. Moscow's public treatment of the crime, while ignoring the involvement of the security service, suggests continuing support for Jaruzelski's position. In pursuing any purge of top hardliners, such as Politburo member Miroslaw Milewski, Jaruzelski probably will try to balance the slate by removing some liberals, such as Politburo member Hieronim Kubiak. Jaruzelski may also feel compelled to take a tough stance against some Solidarity activities, such as the new human rights monitoring group, to show that he does not need hardliners to press him to action and to dispel Solidarity leaders of any notion that they can gain anything from the death of father Popieluszko. ☐

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